

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see
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Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawé can be encountered in Macassar and in the
large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes
who make themselves available in exchange for money for
the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that
these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior
had a position analogous to that of Taking. They elected to
live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their
kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly
controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier
times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place
as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as
male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs
to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to
twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by
tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at
the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth
to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for

[534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana)
and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time

[533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary
between young men and women. In this dance they are to a
certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded
[838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a
[832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from
the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-
disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes
around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a
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833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that
a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prosper-
ing of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger re-
actions, such as the meting out of punishment.

833 Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
832 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his
(her) spouse, one does not simply rest satisfied with this
situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one
searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired
result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable
traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every
individual who performs it. These details need not be
apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case
may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is
never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will
bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case
where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-
Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after
others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was
concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called
"marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown
in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative
in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which
the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time
from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are
here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by
ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the
woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed
together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

/179 cont./

Steaming

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[801] Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

302 The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before
585 the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in
826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of
828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men
[834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded
585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im-
826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
● 832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant
expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B. F. Matthes,
Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On
this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in
his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the
Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride
a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of
other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress.
They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place
a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that
she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a
bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534] with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burn, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a
number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut
leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

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2. The leaves, it is always
stated, are of a reddish color.
Red is the color of fire and
life. Personally, I have never
been able to observe anything
but an ordinary green color.
The leaves are chewed before-
hand.

[822]

and a fourth water.

582 /199 cont/ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
593 or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By
child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in
which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature.
But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect
in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place,
the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature
in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of
the marriage, the children did not live in the same house.
They are supervised by the older people, and not until the
girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and
this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does
ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature
and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of
the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
● [832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his
young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself
gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disap-
proved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the
possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not
excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited.
Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is
contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in
keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice
of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the cer-
tainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
[833] who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her
593 marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years
after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by
the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a
married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and
thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

[11 cont.]

3. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra,
Volksbeschrijving, p. 179.

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276 is chewed at all times and often during the night when one is awake. The use of a betel quid after eating is the rule. We must mention here a disagreeable feature of betel-chewing. The various ingredients [12] of the quid give the saliva a foul, brown-red color that is imparted to the gums and lips. The latter are therefore stained a blackish red by the continuous spitting. The native, however, finds this beautiful. A Javanese poet once compared the thus decorated mouth of his beloved with the cleft in a pomegranate that had burst from ripeness (1). "Lovely," said the Makassarese singer of his

1. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 569.

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832] beloved, "lovely is the opening of the mouth of my daeng" (2).

2. Matthes, Mak. Chrestomatie,
p. 652.

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276 We want to note how the natives attach superstitious value to the red saliva from betel-chewing for countering sickness. Spitting saliva from betel-chewing on a sick person is commonly done. In general betel plays an important role in the domestic life of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago. Offering and accepting betel is a friendly gesture. Every guest who comes is therefore offered betel. On Sumatra and in other areas of the archipelago, whenever a Government official visits a village, the women customarily hand him the betel bag or the areca box with some ready-made betel quids in it, which he is obligated to accept. Naturally, he does not have to use them; he can unobtrusively put them aside later.

Offering betel is not only a welcoming gesture to guests, a token of peace and friendship, but also precedes any

MaKassar 066

Batak 0D5

Malays AN5

MK [566 cont.]

756 coitus, that they are impotent, which is the reason that in
832 Makassar they are called kweëen, from the Makassarese kawe =
impotent. On account of this characteristic, they have free
access to the court at all times, even to the rooms of the young
princesses. Dr. Matthes does not believe that the female bissu
are prostitutes like the Dajak balian, because they are seldom or
never pretty enough to make young gentlemen lose their heads
over them.

As we have noted, they are principally consulted as doctors
or doctresses, sanro.

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796 Otherwise, they appear chiefly when festivals are held, for
756 example, in honor of a birth, at funerals, teeth filing, weddings,
etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies,
which consist primarily of dancing and singing. They also
drive off the evil spirits, for which they use specific musical
instruments.

B [567] There are also shamans among the Batak, usually
791 women. They bear the name sibaso. Baso is the Malay
797 bahasa = word, -term; sibaso can therefore be translated as "the
word," because the utterance of anyone who is possessed by a
spirit is regarded as the word. The spirits who possess the
sibaso are in general begu. The descent of these begu is called
sijar. They are consulted about all kinds of things, but mainly
about illnesses.

M1 Shamanism also occurs among the Malays. This comes
787 out most clearly in the conjuring of the trubuk as this is done
226 in Brouwer Strait on Sumatra's east coast. When it is time for
the catch and the schools of trubuk do not appear, this is at-
tributed to a supernatural reason and an attempt is made to
learn the cause of their staying away as well as the means
to make the fish come.

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791 At the head of the fish stands a woman, Djindjang radja,
787 who serves as medium during the conjuring. She is possessed
786 by a spirit and in this condition delivers the necessary oracles.

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead-pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the simple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampung, the Moham-
medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampung said that the average number of living children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampung.) If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are
evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and
Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed
shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly,
but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split,
80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between
their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For
their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam,
but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they
may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get
gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too.
These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not
slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Addi
says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys,
who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned
by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played
in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indo-
nesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of
various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South
Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a
young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district).
After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of
the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a
completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I re-
marked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great
deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur.
And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the
Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short
speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a re-
markable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in